

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ACDA-05 ISO-00 INRE-00 SSO-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAJ-01

CU-02 OIC-02 EB-07 OMB-01 TRSE-00 CIEP-01 COME-00

SIL-01 LAB-04 STR-04 BIB-01 SAM-01 /102 W

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O R 281720Z JUN 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4148

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 307

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

UNDOCOSOUTH

USLO SAACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4982

FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG PARM EGEN EEWT SGEN

SUBJ: CSCE: STATE II HIGHLIGHTS-JUNE 23-28

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NOTE: WE TRANSMIT THIS TELEGRAM NIACT IMMEDIATE IN ORDER

TO PROVIDE THE DEPARTMENT WITH THE LATEST INFORMATION ON DEVELOPMENTS IN CSCE THROUGH SATURDAY, JUNE 28, IN VIEW OF CONSIDERATION NOW BEING GIVEN TO POSSIBLE DATES FOR STAGE III. ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS AT US MISSION GENEVA DO NOT PERMIT US TO TRANSMIT IT WITHOUT THIS PRECEDENCE.

1. SUMMARY: THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES, THE NEUTRALS, AND SEVERAL WESTERN DELEGATIONS BEGAN A MAJOR DRIVE THIS WEEK TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A DATE FOR STAGE III AT THE END OF JULY AND THUS CREATE BROAD PRESSURES FOR CONCLUSION OF THE STAGE II NEGOTIATIONS. MOST WESTERN DELEGATIONS, TAKING THEIR CUE FROM THE POSITION OF THE EC-NINE FOREIGN MINISTERS AT THEIR MEETING IN LUXEMBOURG, AGREED THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE AND DESIRABLE TO CONVENE STAGE II AT THE END OF JULY, BUT INSISTED THAT SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON CERTAIN KEY SUBJECTS WOULD HAVE TO BE CONCLUDED BEFORE THEY COULD ACCEPT A DATE. FOR MOST DELEGATIONS, THESE KEY SUBJECTS INCLUDED CBM PARAMETERS AND FOLLOW-UP, BUT OTHERS LISTED ADDITIONAL TOPICS, SUCH AS QRR SAVING CLAUSE AND A DISCLAIMER ON THE NON-LEGAL NATURE OF THE CSCE DOCUMENTS. WORK ON MANY OF THESE ISSUES CAME CLOSE TO CONCLUSION BY THE END OF THE WEEK, AND THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE SET UP A MEETING SCHEDULE FOR THE WEEKEND IN ORDER TO TRY TO REACH FINAL AGREEMENT ON SOME SUBJECTS IN TIME TO GIVE THE FOUR WEEKS NOTICE REQUIRED BY THE FINNS FOR CONVENING OF STAGE III. THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE WILL ALSO COME BACK TO THE QUESTION OF A DATE FOR STAGE III AT A SPECIAL MEETING SCHEDULED FOR MONDAY, JUNE 30, WHICH WILL BE EXACTLY FOUR WEEKS BEFORE THE LAST DATE AVAILABLE IN JULY FOR A STAGE III SUMMIT. END SUMMARY-

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--PRINCIPLES
SUBCOMMITTEE MADE MODEST PROGRESS IN DRAFTING PREAMBLES FOR THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND BASKET I AS A WHOLE. BASKET I PREAMBLE WILL CONTAIN REFERENCE TO THE INTEREST OF ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION THROUGHOUT EUROPE", WHICH FRG DEL VIEWS AS HELPFUL IN SUPPORTING VIEW THAT CONFERENCE RESULTS
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MUST BE APPLIED TO BERLIN. AT WEEK'S END AGREEMENT APPEARED IN SIGHT ON A NUMBER OF BASIC PARAS BUT FRENCH AND YUGOSLAVS INDICATED A DESIRE TO SUBMIT SEVERAL ADDITIONAL PROPOSALS OF A CONTROVERSIAL NATURE. THOUGHT SUBCOMMITTEE WILL BEGIN A MORE STRENUOUS SCHEDULE THIS WEEKEND, SECOND READING OF THE PRINCIPLES STILL SEEMS SOME WAY OFF. FRENCH TABLED QRR SAVING CLAUSE ON FRIDAY AFTERNOON. SWEDES, SWISS, SPANISH AND ROMANIANS

OBJECTED TO VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE TEXT. CONTROVERSY BETWEEN FRG AND GDR ON TRANSLATION OF PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS TEXT HAS NOW BEEN SOLVED. SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ON A KEY PARA FOR SWISS PROPOSAL FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BUT REMAINED UNABLE TO AGREE ON TEXT OF A SHORT PREAMBLE FOR ROMANIAN PROPOSAL ON NON-USE OF FORCE. FRG PERSISTED IN REQUESTING DELETION OF TWO OF SEVEN ROMANIAN OPERATIVE PARAS AND UK WAS CONSIDERING CHALLENGING A THIRD.

3. MILITARY SECURITY--AFTER HINTING LAST FRIDAY THAT THEY COULD MOVE FURTHER ON PARAMETERS IF ALLIES WOULD ACCEPT THEIR AMENDMENTS TO THE UK TEXT ON "VOLUNTARY BASIS" FOR MANEUVER CBM, SOVIETS CONTACTED UK DELEGATION CHIEF OVER WEEKEND AND OFFERED NEW PACKAGE OF 250 KMS, 25,000 MEN, AND 21 DAYS, PLUS INCLUSION OF SOVIET BALTIC AND BLACK SEA COASTS IN AREA OF APPLICATION. UK HOPED TO REPLY ON MONDAY THAT SOVIETS COULD HAVE A QUICK AND FIRM

DEAL BEFORE THE IMPORTANT MEETING OF EC-NIN MINISTERS THE NEXT DAY IF THEY RAISED AREA TO 300 KMS, BUT LINGERING RESERVATIONS OF SEVERAL SMALLER ALLIES PREVENTED THEM FROM OFFERING A DEFINITIVE ALLIED POSITION. BY THE TIME WAYS OF DEALING WITH THESE RESERVATIONS HAD BEEN WORKED OUT, UK BELIEVED TIME WHEN SOVIETS MIGHT SEIZE ON 300 KMS, HAD PASSED, AND ON JUNE 26 THEY OFFERED 275 KMS AS ROCK-BOTTOM ALLIED FIGURE. SOVIETS REJECTED 275 KMS ON INSTRUCTIONS ON JUNE 27, WITH RESULT THAT SOVIETS AND UK AS ALLIED AGENT ARE NOW ENGAGED IN "STARING MATCH" ON THIS ONE REMAINING MAJOR EAST-WEST ISSUE IN MANEUVER CBM. TO BRING TOGETHER AND BEGIN TO ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE OTHER CBM ISSUES, UK ALSO BEGAN DISCUSSION WITH SOVIETS AND NEUTRALS OF A DRAFT PACKAGE PROPOSAL FOR FINAL CBM DOCUMENT. TEXT FOR THIS DOCUMENT CONFIDENTIAL

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REPRESENTS CONSENSUS REACHED IN ALLIED CAUCUS. INITIAL REACTION WAS FAVORABLE, ALTHOUGH SOVIETS PARTICULARLY CRITICIZED PORTIONS DEALING WITH MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS, AND EXCEPTION CLAUSE FOR TURKEY, WHICH UK HAD INSERTED BECAUSE TURKS REFUSED TO ACCEPT ANY OTHER APPROACH. ON THIS POINT TURKS ARE COMPLETELY ISOLATED WITHIN NATO AND AT THE CONFERENCE, AND GREECE WITH CONSIDERABLE SYMPATHY IS THREATENING TO INSIST ON SIMILAR EXCEPTION IF TURKS PERSIST. IF THE TURKS DO NOT YIELD SOON, THIS ISSUE COULD PROVE TO BE A STICKING POINT FOR THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE.

4. ECONOMICS--ONE OF MAJOR REMAINING DIFFERENCES SEEMED ON ROAD TO SOLUTION WITH DRAFTING OF A COMPROMISE PREAMBULAR TEXT ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. FINAL ACTION IS HOPED FOR NEXT WEEK AFTER TEXT IS REVIEWED IN CAPITALS. SAVE FOR

MINOR BUT TROUBLESOME POINTS RAISED BY ROMANIA AND SPAIN,
COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES SUBCOMMITTEE SEEMS NEAR AGREEMENT ON
TEXT ON MARKET SAFEGUARDS. INFORMAL MEETING ON RECIPROCITY
GAVE MISLEADING IMPRESSION OF PROGRESS BY CONVERTING LESS
CONTROVERSIAL PART OF TEXT TO SEPARATE CLAUSE AND COMING
NEAR TO AGREEMENT ON THAT PART. OTHER AREAS SUBCOMMITTEE
REGISTERED FINAL PREAMBULAR PARAS OF MIGRANT LABOR IN-
DOCUMENT CONTAINING SAFEGUARD CLAUSES DESIRED BY US, THUS
VIRTUALLY COMPLETING SUBJECT OF MIGRANT LABOR EXCEPT FOR
REMOVAL OF BRACKETS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 4982

5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION-- HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEES CONTINUED WORK ON CLEAN-UP AND TRANSLATIONS, AND AT END OF WEEK VIRUTALLY ALL REMAINING PROBLEMS WERE RESOLVED. ON SATURDAY INFORMAL AGREEMENT AMONG THE INTERESTED DELEGATIONS WAS REACHED ON BROADCASTING TEXT, THUS COMPLETING SUBSTANTIVE WORK ON INFORMATION. EXPECTATION CONFIDENTIAL

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NOW IS THAT FULL HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION TEXTS MAY BE SENT TO THE RESPECTIVE SUBCOMMITTEES FOR REGISTRATION ON MONDAY, JUNE 30. COMMITTEES ON CULTURE AND EDUCATION ALSO CONTINUED TO MAKE GOOD PROGRESS AND WORK IN THESE GROUPS COULD BE COMPLETED BY END OF NEXT WEEK. MAJOR PITFALL IN BOTH SUBCOMMITTEES REMAINS PROBLEM OF YUGOSLAV PROPOSALS ON NATIONAL MINORITIES, WHICH HAVE BEEN SUBJECT OF PROLONGED BEHIND-THE-SCENES NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN YUGOSLAV PROPOSALS ON NATIONAL MINORITIES, WHICH HAVE BEEN SUBJECT OF PROLONGED BEHIND-THE-SCENES NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN YUGOSLAV AND FRENCH DELS. AT WEEK'S END, YUGOSLAVS WERE AWAITING NEW INSTRUCTIONS. ADDITIONALLY, SOVIETS IN CULTURE CONTINUE TO RESIST WESTERN EFFORTS TO ALIGN RUSSIAN-LANGUAGE VERSION OF KEY COMPROMISE TEXT ON CONTACTS AMONG CREATIVE ARTISTS WITH FRENCH ORIGINAL.

6. MEDITERRANEAN--IN EFFORT TO BREAK CONTINUING DEADLOCK ON PARA MALTESE WANT TO ADD TO THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION, EC-NINE, WITH OUR AGREEMENT, ARE CURRENTLY MAKING COMPROMISE ATTEMPT INVOLVING ALLIED WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT A REFERENCE TO CONTINUITY OF MULTILATERAL CSCE PROCESS IN MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION, THUS IMPLYING SOME RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES AND CSCE FOLLOW-UP. PROPOSALS FOR SOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM WERE IMPROVED BY UNILATERAL MALTESE DECISION TO DROP DEMAND FOR INVITATION TO NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES TO ATTEND STAGE III.

7. FINAL DOCUMENTS--WORK ON FINAL ACT MOVED AHEAD IN INFORMAL SESSIONS, AND CONCEPT OF A DISCLAIMER CLAUSE IN THE NON-LEGAL NATURE OF THE FINAL DOCUMENTS WAS WIDELY ACCEPTED, ALTHOUGH PRECISE TEXT STILL HAS TO BE WORKED OUT.

8. FOLLOW-UP--THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW INFORMAL FOLLOW-UP WORKING GROUP UNDER CONDITIONS OF INCREASING TIME PRESSURE HAS BROKEN LONG-STANDING PROCEDURAL LOGJAM ON FOLLOW-UP. IN COURSE OF A WEEK, WORKING GROUP HAS PRODUCED FIRST DRAFT OF NEW FOLLOW-UP DOCUMENT WHICH MANY DELEGATIONS CONSIDER

TO BE FIRST TEXT WHICH MIGHT SERVE AS BASIS FOR A FINAL
COMPROMISE. SOVIET BLOC HAS SO FAR NOT BEEN ABLE TO GAIN
MUCH SUPPORT FOR ITS DESIRE TO "POLITICIZE" FOLLOW-UP PROCESS,
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THE FRENCH ARE MELLOWING SLIGHTLY ON CONTINUITY, AND THE
NEUTRALS, ROMANIANS AND YUGOSLAVA ARE GIVING INCREASING
SIGNS THAT THEIR NEEDS CAN SOON BE MET. WHILE KEY PROBLEMS
REMAIN, INCLUDING US RESERVATIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION LANGUAGE
PROGRESS HAS OBVIOUSLY BEEN MADE.

9. STAGE III-SOVIETS LAUNCHED MAJOR EFFORT TO FIX DATE
FOR STAGE III BY PROPOSING IN COORDINATING COMMITTEE THAT
STAGE III BE CONVENED ON JULY 22. SWEDES THEN PROPOSED
JULY 28. WESTERN DELS TOOK POSITION THAT MAIN UNRESOLVED
SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES WOULD HAVE TO BE SETTLED BEFORE AGREEMENT
CAN BE REACHED ON A DATE FOR THE FINAL STAGE, HOWEVER, WITH
THE FINNS INSISTING THAT THEY NEED FOUR WEEK' NOTIFICATION
TO CONVENE STAGE III, ALL DELEGATIONS REALIZED THAT A DECISIO
WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN EARLY NEXT WEEK IF STAGE III IS
TO BE CONVENED IN JULY. TWO COORDINATING COMMITTEE
MEETINGS FAILED TO BRING ANY GENERAL CONCLUSION, AND MANY
SMALLER DELEGATIONS (E.G. MALTA, ROMANIA, AND TURKEY)
ALLUEDED TO THEIR SPEICIAL PROBLEMS. DEBATE WILL CONTINUE
UNDER MOUNTING PRESSURE ON MONDAY, JUNE 30.

10. COMMENT:-WE NOW EXPECT THAT A MAJORITY IN FAVOR
OF STAGE III IN LATE JULY WILL BEGIN TO EMERGE EARLY
NEXT WEEK. WHILE SEVERAL SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES REMAIN
TO BE RESOLVED, FURTHER PROGRESS MAY BRING THEM TO A
CONCLUSION AT ANY TIME, AND MANY DELEGATIONS ALREADY
FEEL THAT AGREEMENT ON A STAGE III DATE MUST BE REACHED
BY THE END OF JUNE. WHILE A COMPLETE CONSENSUS WILL
PROBABLY NOT BE ACHIEVED THAT QUICKLY, WE BELIEVE A
BROAD TENDENCY TOWARD FIXING A DATE AT THE END OF
JULY WILL ALLOW THE FINNNS TO BEGIN PREPARATIONS FOR
STAGE III, AND THAT PRESSURES TO JOIN CONSENSUS WILL
THEN LEAD RECALCITRANT DELEGATIONS TO LIFT THEIR
RESERVATIONS AS THEIR SPECIAL INTERESTS ARE SATISFIED
IN THE COURSE OF FURTHERNEGOTIATIONS. THE MOST LIKELY
TIMING FOR STAGE III NOW APPEARS TO BE THE WEEK OF
JULY 28. END COMMENT. DALE

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